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A TAGMEMIC APPROACH TO CERTAIN THAI CLAUSES

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TO MY MOTHER AND FATHER

PREFACE

The aim of this study is to demonstrate the major linguistic patterns of Thai clauses using the analytic approach of tagmemics.

The completion of this analysis was made possible with the help of the following, to each of whom I would like to express my gratitude:

To the Rockefeller Foundation, whose financial support enabled me to pursue my studies and to do the necessary research for this dissertation.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. The Model

The tagmemic model is one of a number of models used in linguistic analysis. It is a form of grammatical analysis developed by some of the significant members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, an organization which was founded in 1934 at Arkansas for the training of missionaries, and hence has a strong practical orientation. The tagmemic system of analysis has been successfully applied to many languages of the world and is becoming increasingly important. Since it has not been applied on a large scale to Thai, the present attempt to do so may prove a useful addition to current linguistic knowledge of the language.

The present dissertation takes as the central explication of tagmemics the research of Kenneth L. Pike and Robert E. Longacre. According to the tagmemic model, language is analyzable simultaneously into three hierarchies--lexical, phonological, and grammatical, each of which consists of units on separate levels. The tagmeme is the minimum unit of the grammatical hierarchy. Tagmemes combine to form constructions which occur at various levels in the grammar, one of these being the clause which is the subject under consideration. However, since some overlap is unavoidable, other levels such as sentences and phrase

level will enter into the discussion whenever it becomes important or necessary to point out their relationships to the clause.

In the Introduction to his book "On Tagmemes and Transforms," Walter A. Cook gives the following outline of the development of tagmemic grammar:

The notion of the tagmeme as a grammatical unit is most clearly given in an article by Kenneth L. Pike, 'On Tagmemes nee Gramemes' (International Journal of American Linguistics, 1958). The trimodal features of this unit were a later development, and are first suggested in an article by Pike of broader scope, 'Language as Particle, Wave, and Field' (The Texas Quarterly, 1959). The notion of the tagmemic construction, as opposed to IC analysis, is found in an article by Robert E. Longacre, 'String Constituent Analysis' (Language, 1960). Various construction types are described in the beginners' textbook, An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax by Benjamin Elson and Velma Pickett (1960). But for the system of tagmemic analysis as a whole, the fundamental reference work is Pike's three volume study, Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior, Part I (1954), Part II (1955), and Part III (1960). This monumental work represents the mainstream of tagmemic thought, and brings us into contact with the opinions of many other workers from the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The most recent work in tagmemic analysis which reflects the influence of (Chomsky's) Syntactic Structures upon tagmemics is the work of Robert E. Longacre, Grammar Discovery Procedures: A Field Manual (1964).¹

In this same work, Cook explains that the discovery process in tagmemic grammar is: "the simultaneous perception of the grammatical functions within a specific

¹Walter A. Cook, S.J., On Tagmemes and Transforms (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1969), pp. 2-3.

construction, as manifested by the members of the various form-classes which occur in the utterance."²

Although intuition and guess-work are required in the discovery procedure, tagmemic grammar in its final form is given a formal presentation. The procedures are based upon the patterns evident in language; the analyst's task is to find, state, and check, these formal patterns. The underlying system can be seen as one of induction, hypothesis, and verification. Of the first two elements of the system, Cook says:

The process of induction is a mental process by which the mind abstracts an element of unity from the analogous sequences which fill a particular slot in contrastive utterances.

The only sufficient reason for such regular, patterned occurrence, is a unifying principle in the speaker who produced the regular patterns. Not from the single items, then, nor from any finite combination of items, is this hypothesis formed, but from the need to explain the 'why' of the regular which he experiences in language.³

It is clear that in this type of analysis, the most important thing for the analyst to remember is that he has to try to view the structure as a whole and to perceive the analogies between similar statements.

Today, more emphasis is being placed on verification (the third phase in the tagmemic approach) as a result of the advent of transformational models which

²Ibid., p. 59.

³Ibid., p. 61.

greatly stress consistency as a criterion. But this novel emphasis has not changed the tagmemic theory in any essential way. In fact, another reason for the choice of this model is that modern transformational insight has been incorporated into tagmemics. Tagmemes and transforms are not as incompatible as they may seem at first glance; rather, it has been found that the notion of transforms as developed by recent generative grammarians can be used as supplementary apparatus to tagmemic grammar: "Generative grammar has brought forcibly and commendably to our attention the usefulness of grammatical transforms as one means of expressing relations between sentences."⁴

B. The Use of Transforms in Tagmemics

In the section on transforms in his book "On Tagmemes and Transforms," Walter A. Cook makes the following statement:

Granted that transforms were developed within the framework of a unique type of generative grammar, the true significance of this discovery lies in the fact that most linguists could find immediate use for the transformational idea, even apart from that framework. . . .

The interpretation of transforms as supplementary is based upon the fact that Chomsky uses the formulations of IC analysis as the terminal strings upon which transforms operate.⁵

⁴Robert E. Longacre, Grammar Discovery Procedures: A Field Manual (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964), p. 16.

⁵Cook, op. cit., p. 40.

Cook points out that although tagmemics differs from IC analysis "both in its unit, a function form composite, and in its constructions, made up of string constituents," such differences are nevertheless "not so great as to render the application of transformations impossible."⁶

To clarify his discussion, Cook gives an outline of the three levels in Chomsky's transformational grammar as follows:

1. the phrase structure level, where terminal strings are derived from initial strings by the application of rewrite rules;
2. the transformational structure level, where sentences are produced from the terminal strings by the application of transforms;
3. the morphophonemic structure level, where the sentences obtained by transformations are, by the application of morphophonemic rules, converted into utterances in phonemic notation.⁷

For our purposes, we shall here consider only: "the phrase structure rules which generate abstract terminal strings, or strings of morpheme classes; (and) the transformations which operate upon abstract terminal

⁶Ibid., p. 41.

⁷Ibid., pp. 44-45.

strings to produce sentence formulae for the morpheme substitution rules."⁸

The above are the rules which correspond to the grammatical hierarchy in tagmemics. First, it is important to note that the initial strings in transformational grammar are paralleled by clause level formulas in tagmemics, since sentence level in tagmemics consists of clause base plus intonation. Thus, one equivalent of $S \longrightarrow NP + VP$ in tagmemics is $Cl = +S:N + P:V + O:N$, so that aside from the difference in the number of constituents Chomsky's rewrite symbol parallels the equals sign in tagmemics.

Turning our attention to transforms, we are told that:

Transforms are, in general, changes made in the strings. A change is specified completely by the structural analysis of the string before the change, the rules of transformation, and the structural analysis of the string after the change. Transforms consist, then, of: input strings, transform rules, output strings. . . . Tagmemic analysis, however, working directly from the data, has expressed the same transformations implicitly, by describing both the input and output strings, without specifying the rules of transformation. For example, statements and questions, active and passive constructions have all been described, but there was, up to this point, no convenient way of stating the relationships between these constructions. What is important to tagmemics is not the way in which such rules are stated, but the fact of relationships between constructions, a point which has far reaching consequences in tagmemics, as in other grammars.⁹

⁸ Ibid., pp. 45-46.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 48-49.

Because only a start has been made in this direction, we lack actual examples of tagmemic-transformational techniques at present. In this study, the symbol will be used mainly to indicate that the construction to the right of the symbol has been derived from the construction to the left, so that "what is being exploited is not the rewrite rule of the transform as such, but the relation between constructions which transform rules have brought so forcefully to the analyst's attention."¹⁰

With the publication of Longacre's "Grammar Discovery Procedures," tagmemic analysts became aware of how their model could be thus supplemented by a "transformational" apparatus.

According to Longacre's approach, transforms can be used to show the relations between constructions, and transform potential can be used as the distinguishing feature in constructions, the constructions being made up of string constituents with tagmemes as the grammatical units. Tagmemic formulae give map-like summaries of constructions. Once constructed, these formulae may be operated on in various ways, so that a set of tagmemic formulae has considerable generative power and the generation of constructions from such formulae can be made quite explicit. However, operations of the sort suggested by Longacre in the introduction to his book, although

¹⁰Ibid., p. 49.

implicit in tagmemic grammars, are not usually made explicit, nor will they be so employed in the present work. The important point to notice is the fact that a tagmemic grammar can employ such operations without obscuring the linguistic patterning. Such operations, being applicable to any tagmemic formulae in any language anywhere, have more universality than specific rules applicable to only one language, so that in this way tagmemic grammar has much to commend it. The model has been shown by Longacre to be not just a purely taxonomic model but one which possesses generative potential as well.

C. The Thai Language

Thai belongs to the Thai-Chinese group of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic family (one which is "of great importance for its present distribution and for the antiquity of its documents.")¹¹ It is the national language of Thailand, a country in South East Asia with a population of about thirty-five million. The Thai language makes use of pitch levels and tone contours like Chinese, but is written in an alphabet derived from the ancient devanagari script of India. The vocabulary also

¹¹Winfred P. Lehmann, Historical Linguistics: An Introduction (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1962), p. 45.

shows considerable influence by the ancient Indic languages Sanskrit and Pali. The dialect known as standard Thai (on which this study is based) is spoken by most of the people of Thailand and also has some speakers in neighboring countries and beyond. Thai is one of those languages in which members of the same class of items often perform more than one function. The tagmemic model with its unique slot-class correlation in which both function and form are always explicit seems to be a particularly useful one in dealing with such languages.

D. The Corpus

In this investigation of Thai clause types I have primarily made use of the written form of the language. Spoken features such as intonation and emphasis have been excluded, although besides using written material I have sometimes made use of my intuition as a native speaker to supply additional data where information in the corpus was lacking. The material for investigation has been taken mainly from the first chapter of a recent Thai novel by a well known writer.¹² This has provided over a thousand clauses for analysis, a number large enough to provide the necessary clause patterns with enough repetitions to make this survey tend toward being

¹²Boonlua Debyasuvarn, Dutiyawiset (Bangkok: Prae Pittaya Co., 1968).

an exhaustive one. The focus of the investigation has been directed toward clauses because the clause level in tagmemics has been termed "the heart of the analytic process."¹³ However, the structure of Thai verb phrases (which are the most important constituents in the clauses) will also be given to some degree. The text incorporates various aspects of the language (for example, dialogue by different characters, descriptive passages, etc.) so that randomization is achieved to a large extent.

However, although it is to be hoped that the chosen corpus reflects the total language situation in relation to Thai clauses, this study does not claim to give a complete account of these. It is quite likely that certain clause types may not have appeared in this corpus, but it is also reasonable to predict that they will not belong to the major clause types which are to be found in the language. Another limitation lies in the actual form of the data. The clauses which have been isolated for analysis are often complicated by what I have determined to be expansions irrelevant to the matter at hand. I have accordingly shortened some of these for convenience. I have also, as discussed earlier, supplied additional examples to fill in the gaps left by the inadequacy of the corpus, particularly with reference

¹³Walter A. Cook, S.J., Introduction to Tagmemic Analysis (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p. 67.

to imperative clause types. Differences in examples quoted will be indicated as follows:

1. those examples quoted directly from the corpus will be preceded by the superscript ^c;
2. those examples which are modified forms of clauses found in the corpus will be preceded by ^m;
3. examples supplied by the writer's intuitional manipulation of the corpus will be left unmarked; and
4. examples of non-occurring (i.e., non-grammatical) clauses will be preceded by the symbol *.

II. CLAUSE ISOLATION PROCEDURES

A. General Discussion

In the section on Grammatical Universals in Charles F. Hockett's "The Problem of Universals in Language," we find the following generalization: "Every human language has a common clause type with bipartite structure in which the constituents can reasonably be termed 'topic' and 'comment.'"¹

Thai manifests such a clause type, for example:

1. Kǎw yím He's smiling. (or He smiled.)
 he smile
2. Cǎn Plia I'm tired.
 I tried

In identifying the "topic" and "comment" sections of the clause, we are basically employing semantic criteria. When we speak, we usually speak about something, and "topic" here stands for the thing we are speaking about. The "comment" part is the predication. It is the most important part of the clause since it is where the information of the utterance lies. In Thai, the topic or subject of discourse is often not explicitly referred to but left to be understood, so that the minimal form of an utterance might be:

¹Charles F. Hockett, "The Problem of Universals in Language," in Universals of Language, ed. by Joseph H. Greenberg (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), p. 23.

suay
pretty

You (he, she, it, they) are
pretty.

The topic as manifested in examples nos. 1 and 2 can be regarded as filling the function of "subject" in those clauses. We see that Thai, like other languages, manifests a subject-predicate construction, but differs from some languages in that the occurrence of the subject is optional. The class of words occurring as subject differs from the class of words occurring as predicate. For instance, words which can occur as predicate can also occur together with certain words (such as aspect markers and auxiliaries) which are never found in combination with words filling the subject function, and vice versa. If we call the class of words filling the subject function "nominals" and those filling the predicate function "verbals" we can say that the most common simple clause type in Thai takes the form:

$$C1 = \overset{\pm}{S} : \text{nom} + P : \text{Verbal}$$

(that is, one kind of clause in Thai consists of an optional subject slot filled by nominals and an obligatory predicate slot filled by verbals).

Basing my analysis on the tagmemic model of slot: class relationship (each grammatical unit or tagmeme being the correlation of a grammatical function or slot with a class of mutually substitutable items occurring in that slot) and following the basic assumption that clauses can be broadly categorized into declarative, interrogative

and imperative types, where interrogative and imperative clauses tend to exhibit certain characteristic differences as compared to declarative ones, I shall propose in the following chapters a tagmemic classification of all the Thai clauses which were found in the corpus.

B. Procedures

Following the definition of Benjamin Elson and Velma Pickett, a clause construction is "any string of tagmemes which consists of or includes one and only one predicate or predicate-like tagmeme among the constituent tagmemes of the string, and whose manifesting morpheme sequence typically fills slots on the sentence level."²

One feature to note here is that clauses consist of or include one and only one predicate. This predicate tagmeme typically consists of a predicate slot filled by either a verb or verb phrase. Since it is possible for a single clause to have a compound verb form in the predicate slot, it becomes of the utmost importance to be able to distinguish between auxiliaries and the main verb (or "head" of the predicate construction) in any verb sequence in order to be able to determine the number of clauses in the sequence. The definition of "clause" in Thai can then be modified to "a string of tagmemes consisting of one

²Benjamin Elson and Velma Pickett, An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax (Santa Ana, California: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1962), p. 64.

and only one main verb."

A useful criterion for distinguishing auxiliaries in Thai has been suggested by Kanchana Sindhavananda. By putting each clause into the question test frame:

Cl + QM: r~~ii~~ plàaw

we can specify as an auxiliary that verb form which "cannot occur independently but must be preceded or followed by a main verb to produce a grammatical response."³

From using this test frame, Kanchana Sindhavananda concludes further that a verb which can occur alone in a short answer to the question is a "main verb." However, not all verbs thus isolated behave in the same way, and we find that some verbs which can occur alone in short answers do not occur alone elsewhere. In this regard it will be useful to adopt Charles C. Fries' distinction between situation utterance units (i.e., those that begin conversations) and response utterance units (those that occur as responses to preceding utterance units)⁴ to separate these forms into two further groups: (1) those that can occur independently in both situation and response utterances; and (2) those that can occur independently in response utterances but occur dependently in situation utterances. In this study, only forms of group

³Kanchana Sindhavananda, "The Verb in Modern Thai" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University, 1970), p. 33.

⁴Charles C. Fries, The Structure of English (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952), p. 37.

(1), the group with the greatest independence, will be considered main verbs, those in group (2) will be here called aspect markers.

Combining the question test frame criterion of Sindhavananda and the situation-response distinction as presented by Fries, we arrive at the following procedure for distinguishing Thai main verbs:

Step I. Application of the question test frame. This has two possibilities:

(a) If the clause has a simple verb form, e.g.,

Statement 1. Kǎw pay Tîi nân bỳ-bỳ
 he go place that often
 He goes there often.

then application of the question test frame

should yield that verb in the response, thus:

Question 1. Kǎw pay Tîi nân bỳ-bỳ rǎi plàaw
 Response 1. pay

This shows that the verb is a main verb. Clauses with simple verb forms thus should need no further analysis. Any verb forms in this category which deviate from this rule are exceptions which must be put aside for further investigation.

(b) If the clause has a compound verb form, e.g.,

Statement 2. Kǎw Kuan pay Tîi nân bỳ-bỳ
 he should go place that often
 He should go there often.

Statement 3. Kǎw cà pay Tîi nân bỳ-bỳ
 he will go place that often
 He will go there often.

there are two possible types of responses, viz:

- (i) a single component of the verb sequence occurs in the response:

Question 2. Kǎw Kuan pay Tîi nân bỳ-bỳ rǐ# plàaw
 Response 2. Kuan

- (ii) the response consists of a compound form:

Question 3. Kǎw cà pay Tîi nân bỳ-bỳ rǐ# plàaw
 Response 3. cà pay

In either case, a further step in the analysis is necessary:

Step II. Application of the situation-response criterion (necessary only in the case of clauses with compound verb forms).

- (a) When the question test frame yields a single verb in the response (as in Step I(b)(i) above), reconstruct the statement using that component of the verb alone, e.g.,

Statement 2'. *Kǎw Kuan Tîi nân bỳ-bỳ

If the utterance thus produced is grammatical without overtly changing the original meaning (which is not the case here), then we have a main verb, and the whole utterance may consist of more than one clause. However, forms like the one in our example, of the type here called aspect markers, are the ones most generally found in this connection: they cannot occur independently in situation utterance units.

Our next step is to give the same situation utterance test to the other component(s) of the verb sequence, in this case the component pay, which yields:

Statement 2". Kǎw pay Tîi nân bỳ-bỳ

which is a grammatical sequence.

That component of the verb sequence which by itself yields a grammatical situational utterance is a main verb. We can now go back to Step I(a) if we wish to recheck our conclusions.

- (b) When the response to the question test frame consists of a compound form, we must reconstruct the statement using one part of the compound at a time in the verb slot. From the response in I(b)(ii) we reconstruct the following situation utterance units:

Statement 3'. *Kǎw cà Tîi nân bỳ-bỳ

Statement 3". Kǎw pay Tîi nân bỳ-bỳ

The first utterance above is ungrammatical. The form cà cannot occur independently in either response or situation type of utterance and is therefore an auxiliary. The verb pay in Statement 3" yields a grammatical utterance. Application of Step I(a) will confirm our conclusions that pay is a main verb.

Edward M. Anthony has aptly used the situation-response dichotomy in classifying Thai verb forms in his article "Verboid Constructions in Thai." The three groups discussed above (viz. main verbs, aspect markers, and auxiliaries) correspond with his AB, BC, and CD categories respectively.⁵

The following chart shows the three corresponding groups and their various properties:

Type of verb	EMA's categories	Independence		Properties
		S	R	
1. Main Verbs	AB	+	+	Can occur alone in both response and situation utterances.
2. Aspect Markers	BC	-	+	Can occur alone in response utterances but always with a member of group 1 otherwise.
3. Auxiliaries	CD	-	-	Can never occur alone in either questions, statements, or short answers.

⁵ Edward M. Anthony, "Verboid Constructions in Thai," in Studies in Languages and Linguistics, ed. by Albert H. Marckwardt (Ann Arbor: The English Language Institute, The University of Michigan, 1964), pp. 69-70.

III. PRINCIPAL CONTRASTIVE CLAUSE TYPES

A. Independent Clause Types

Clauses can generally be divided into two classes: independent versus dependent. In this section we will consider the Thai independent clauses. For the purposes of this analysis, an independent clause is defined as a clause that can stand alone in a situation type utterance in the language. Following Cook, it is assumed that "this capacity to stand alone must be judged according to its acceptability by a native speaker of the language."¹

It is further assumed here that grammaticality must also be judged according to acceptability by a native speaker. One of the points made by Richard B. Noss in a recent paper was the following:

What is, or is not, 'grammatical' in a given language at a given time is decided by people, not by formulae, and in questions of grammaticality it is still my word against yours.²

In the conclusion of his paper, Noss stresses the importance of data, both spoken and written, collected, as he puts it, "by some real person from actual sources,"³

¹Walter A. Cook, S.J., Introduction to Tagmemic Analysis, p. 67.

²Richard B. Noss, "The Transformer in the Woodpile" (paper delivered at the Siam Society, Bangkok, Thailand, May 12, 1971), p. 5.

³Ibid., p. 14.

so that more of the total range of possibilities of the syntactic surface structures of a language such as Thai can be learned. This study is an attempt in such a direction, with identification of the clause structures (including the more unusual ones) found in the corpus regarded as the central part of the analysis.

As was pointed out in the last chapter, clauses are strings of tagmemes which include one and only one predicate in the string. The tagmemes in such a string can be identified as either nuclear or peripheral.⁴ The nuclear tagmemes are generally diagnostic of the construction in which they occur although they may be obligatory or optional. Peripheral tagmemes, on the other hand, are always optional, being typically adverbials which fill in details of time, place, and manner, etc.

⁴This study mainly follows the criteria for distinguishing nuclei from peripheries as outlined by Longacre, 1964, pp. 48-51. Of the six diagnostic criteria of nuclear tagmemes given by Longacre, the following four are most relevant to Thai clause level tagmemes: Longacre's (1) all obligatory tagmemes are nuclear; (3) nuclear tagmemes tend to occur contiguously to each other; (4) some nuclear tagmemes are limited to particular clause types; and (5) nuclear tagmemes may be affected by transformations between clause types or between a clause type and some other construction; peripheral tagmemes are not. As a consequence of criterion no. (5), a transform of a nuclear tagmeme is also considered to be nuclear. By definition, therefore, any tagmeme not conforming to at least one of the above criteria is a peripheral tagmeme.

1. Procedures for Separating Clause Types

According to Longacre, in order for two constructions to be regarded as different they must differ in at least two ways, one of which must affect the nuclear tagmemes: "For two patterns (syntagmemes) to be in contrast they must have more than one structural difference between them; at least one of these differences must involve the nuclear of the syntagmemes."⁵

Under "structural difference" Longacre includes transform potential⁶ and a difference such as obligatory versus optional in the same nuclear tagmeme of the contrasting constructions.⁷

This necessity for identifying minimal contrast between constructions was demonstrated by Longacre in an earlier work, "String Constituent Analysis."⁸ Pike commended this part of the mentioned work as "a crucial theoretical contribution" on the part of Longacre, and called it a "theoretical breakthrough."⁹ However, it is noteworthy that besides Longacre's requirements of a

⁵Robert E. Longacre, Grammar Discovery Procedures, p. 18.

⁶Ibid., pp. 52-53.

⁷Ibid., pp. 56-57.

⁸Robert E. Longacre, "String Constituent Analysis," Language, 36 (1960), p. 75.

⁹Kenneth L. Pike, "Dimensions of Grammatical Structure," Language, 38 (1963), p. 231.

difference of two tagmemes or of one tagmeme plus a transformation potential for establishing contrast between clause types, Pike added a further distributional criterion:

A difference in the distribution of two constructions in higher-layered constructions may, like a transform difference, count as one of two required differences provided this distributional difference is paralleled by a substantial difference in structural meaning (such as 'declarative' versus 'interrogative').¹⁰

Although Longacre does not agree with Pike on the above question and rules out external distribution as a countable contrastive feature,¹¹ this study will follow Pike's suggestion where difference in external distribution seems to be a useful feature in separating clause types.

2. Primary Declarative Clause Types

Of the three broad categories of clauses (declarative, interrogative and imperative) which will be shown to have distinct contrastive characteristics, the declarative clause is by far the most frequent in occurrence. Therefore, although any one type of clause can actually be derived from either of the other two, we shall for convenience set up the declarative (or statement) clause

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 232.

¹¹ A summary of "countable structural differences" between two constructions (syntagmemes) is given in Longacre, 1964, p. 19.

as the "primary" clause type and regard interrogative (or question) and imperative (or command) clauses as clause types derivable from declarative clauses, giving the latter the label "derived" clauses. The primary clause types will be found to contrast with each other (and with all other clause types) in at least two ways, one of which involves their internal nuclear tagmemic construction.

Notice that, in tagmemics, verbs that occur sometimes with and sometimes without objects are all classified as transitive verbs, transitivity being defined as "the capacity to take one or more objects."¹² Intransitive verbs, on the other hand, are those verbs which can never take an object. Such a definition prevents any ambiguity or overlapping between fillers of intransitive versus transitive slots, so that difference in fillers of predicate slots can be posited as a structural difference between clause types.

In the listing of primary clause types which follows, the tagmemic structure of their nuclei is given first, followed by a list of features which will be found to contrast with the other clause types.

Formula 1. Intransitive Clause Nucleus

$$iCl = {}^{\dagger} S_a : nom + P : iv$$

¹²Walter A. Cook, S.J., Introduction to Tagmemic Analysis, p. 70.

(that is, an intransitive clause consists of an optional subject-as-actor slot filled by a nominal and obligatory predicate slot filled by an intransitive verb).

Contrastive features of iCl.

1. An intransitive clause has only two nuclear tagmemes whereas transitive and equational clause types have three.
2. The fillers of the intransitive predicate slot are different from those of the predicate slots of the other primary clause types.
3. It is not possible to transform intransitive clauses into passives.¹³
4. The situational role¹⁴ of the subject of intransitive clauses is different from that of the subject of descriptive clauses.

¹³See section on the passive clause.

¹⁴Pike discusses situational and grammatical roles in the function slot in "Discourse Analysis and Tagmeme Matrices," Oceanic Linguistics, 3 (1964), 5-25.

Examples of Intransitive Clauses:

S	P	
	^C yím yàaŋ sanùk smile as if happy	(He/she) smiled gayly.
^m Căn I	maa càak bâan come from house	I came from the house.
	^m y in yùu nâa kâo-îi stand(aux) ↓ chair in front of	(He/she) is standing in front of a chair.
	^m nân Kian Kăw sit beside him	(She) is sitting beside him.
	^m òk càak bâan go out from house	(She) went out of the house
	^C lăy Túam-Tón flow flood-like	(It) flowed plentifully.
	^C n on kàp m ae sleep with mother	(He) slept with Mother.
^m Tân K ay pay kruŋTêep he (am) go Bangkok		He has been to Bangkok.
^C l on klàp càak roonrian She return from school		She returned from school.
^m l on yùu Tii bâan nán she stay at house that		She lives in that house.

Formula 2. Transitive Clause Nucleus

$$tCl = \pm S_a : \text{nom}^{15} + P : tv \pm O : \text{nom}^{16}$$

(that is, a transitive clause consists of an optional subject-as-actor slot filled by a nominal, an obligatory

¹⁵Does not occur when the filler of the transitive predicate is the impersonal use of the verb mii (see next section on sub-types).

¹⁶Always occurs with certain transitive verbs, otherwise optional (see next section on sub-types).

predicate slot filled by a transitive verb, and an optional object slot filled by a nominal).

Contrastive features of tCl.

1. A transitive clause has three nuclear tag-memes whereas intransitive and descriptive clauses have two.
2. The fillers of the transitive predicate slot are different from those of the predicate slots of the other primary clause types.
3. Some types of transitive clauses can be transformed into the passive. None of the other primary clauses can be so transformed.
4. The situational role of the subject of the transitive clauses is different from that of the subject of equational clauses.

Examples of Transitive Clauses:

S	P	O	
	^m kít lǎay r ^h ǎaŋ		(She) thought of many things.
	think many thing		
^m lǎn	yíp	wǎæn	She picked up the ring.
she	pick up	ring	
	^c sǒncay	kaan rian	(She) is interested in studying.
	interested in	education	

S	P	O	
m [^] ææ mother	Tam make	Kan ^ˇ om y ^u candy (aux)	Mother is making candy.
	^C Kay [˘] ap move	mi [˘] i hand	(She) moved her hand.
	^m c [˘] ap touch	t ^o nka [˘] æn K [˘] aw upper-arm his	(She) touched his arm.
^C K [˘] aw he	b [˘] ɔk say		He said.
	^C K [˘] awcay Kwamma [˘] ay understand meaning		(She) understood the meaning.
^m l [˘] n she	k [˘] ææ KwaamK [˘] it K [˘] ɔ [˘] ŋ correct thinking of	K [˘] aw him	She corrected his thinking.
^m K [˘] aw he	d [˘] ay h [˘] en l [˘] ook maa m [˘] aak (am) see world (aux) much		He has had the opportunity to see much of the world.

Formula 3. Equational Clause Nucleus

$$\text{eqCl} = \overbrace{^+ S_i : \text{nom}}^{+} \overbrace{^+ P}^{+} : \text{eqv} + \text{PA} : \text{nom/adjl/advl}$$

(that is, an equational clause consists of an optional subject-as-item slot filled by a nominal, an optional predicate slot filled by an equational or linking verb, and an obligatory predicate-attribute slot filled by a nominal, an adjectival, or an adverbial; further, in each equational clause either the subject or the predicate must

occur, i.e., both cannot be absent at the same time, or both can occur together).¹⁷

Contrastive features of eqCl.

1. An equational clause has three nuclear tag-memes, intransitive and descriptive clauses have only two.
2. The fillers of the equational predicate slot differ from those of the predicate slots of the other primary clause types.
3. Equational clauses cannot be transformed into passives.
4. The situational role of the subject of equational clauses differs from that of the subject of transitive clauses.

Examples of Equational Clauses:

S	P	PA	
^m sâyK» necklace	nán pen that be	sóy sǎam sǎay chain three string	That necklace is a three-tiered type
	^c pen rǎan be figure	KônKâaŋ lék rather small	(It) is a somewhat small figure.

¹⁷An adjectival is an expression which typically occurs in the function slot of modifier of nouns (which are heads of nominal constructions); an adverbial is an expression which typically occurs in the function slot of modifier of verbs (or heads of the predicate construction).

S	P	PA	
^m lòn she	pen	Kon Còok dii	She is a lucky person.
		be person luck good	
^m Kǎw he	Kíí	sǎamii Kǎw lòn	He is her husband.
		is husband of her	
^m bídaa Kǎw lòn	pen	naay-won	Her father is a (musical) conductor.
father of her	be	master-orchestra	
^m Kǎw kàp Cǎn		Kon rún diaw kan	He and I are of the same age.
he and I		people age same together	
	^C pen	rían Tay	(It) is a Thai house.
		be house Thai	
ⁿⁱⁱ lá		Pró Tân taamcay	This is because he spoils (her).
this (emphatic marker)		because he spoil	
	ǎn	pen	Ann is a child.
	Ann	be	
		dèk	
		child	
^m nǎw lék	Kíí	ǎn	The youngest is Ann.
younger little is sibling		Ann	

Formula 4. Descriptive Clause Nucleus

$$\text{desCl} = \pm S_i : \text{nom} + P : \text{desv}$$

(that is, a descriptive clause consists of an optional subject-as-item slot filled by a nominal, and an obligatory predicate slot filled by a descriptive verb).

Contrastive features of desCl.

1. A descriptive clause has two nuclear tagmemes, transitive and equational clauses have three.

2. The fillers of the descriptive predicate slot are different from those of the predicate slots of the other primary clause types.
3. Descriptive clauses cannot be transformed into passives.
4. The situational role of the subject of descriptive clauses differs from that of intransitive clauses.

Note: Fillers of the predicate slot of this type of clause often occur in the function slot of noun modifier in longer strings, where word order is usually the device for resolving the ambiguity.

For example:

náam nîi sǎy	This water is clear.
water this clear	
náam sǎy nîi mây sòkkapròk	This clear water is
water clear this not dirty	not dirty.

Examples of Descriptive Clauses:

S	P	
^C Kanàat size	yày kwàa Pét big than diamond	(Its) size is bigger than (a/the) diamond.
^C wan nîi - day this	súay cingcin pretty truly	Today (you look) really pretty.
^C sǎŋ Kǎŋ lòn baw voice of her soft		Her voice is soft.

S P

^m Pǒm Kǎw̃ Kǎw̃ yan Koñ dam hair of him (aux)(aux) black	His hair is still black.
^m náam Tíi níi sǎy yùu tal̃t̃ pii water at here clear(aux) all year	The water here is clear all year around.
^m nwaan mǎan mǎæ Kǎw̃ sweet like mother her	(She is) sweet like her mother.
^m Cút níi yaaw lúamlúam dress this long loosely	This dress is long and loose.
^c Kwaamcam dii memory good	(His/her) memory is good.
Kun sǒm plǎæk càak Píiñ Miss Som different from siblings	Miss Som is dif- ferent from her brothers and sisters.
^c son mǎan dèk PúuCaay naughty like child male	(She) is naughty like a boy.

Summary of Nuclear Tagmemes of Primary Clause Types

Clause Type	Subject	Predicate	Object
Intransitive	$\pm S_a : \text{nom}$	+ P:iv	\emptyset
Transitive	$\pm S_a : \text{nom}$	+ P:tv	$\pm O : \text{nom}$
Equational	$\pm S_i : \text{nom}$	$\pm P : \text{eqv}$	+ PA:nom/adjl/ advl
Descriptive	$\pm S_i : \text{nom}$	+ P:desv	\emptyset

a. Sub-types of primary clauses. Of the four primary clause types, only the transitive clause type lends itself most readily to further sub-classification as follows:

Transitive Clause Sub-types

Formula 2a. Transitive Clause with one object.

$$1. \text{ tCl} = \pm S_a : \text{nom} + P : \text{tv} \pm O : \text{nom}^{18}$$

(This is the same as the nuclear formula given above and represents the most common manifestation of this clause type).

$$2. \text{ impers.tCl} = \emptyset + P : \text{mii}^{19} + O : \text{Cl/nom}$$

(that is, an impersonal clause consists of an obligatory predicate slot filled by the impersonal verb mii and an obligatory subject slot filled by another clause²⁰ or a nominal).

Formula 2b. Transitive Clause with more than one object.

$$1. \text{ di-tCl} = \pm S_a : \text{nom} + P : \text{di-tv} \pm O_1 : \text{nom} \\ \pm O_2 : \text{nom}$$

(that is, a di-transitive clause consists of an optional subject-as-actor slot filled by a nominal, an obligatory

¹⁸The object always occurs with tv "mii" and certain other transitive verbs.

¹⁹As an ordinary transitive verb, mii means "have." In its impersonal function it takes on the meaning of "exist" and can be translated as "there is/are." In its impersonal use mii cannot take a subject.

²⁰See section on Dependent Clauses.

predicate slot filled by a di-transitive verb, and two optional object slots filled by nominals).

$$2. \text{ caus.tCl} = \pm S_a: \text{nom} + P : \hat{\text{h\ddot{a}y}}^{21} \pm O_2: \text{nom} \\ + O_1: \text{partial cl}^{22}$$

(that is, a causative clause consists of an optional subject-as-actor slot filled by a nominal, an obligatory predicate slot filled by the causative verb hay, an optional object slot filled by a nominal and an obligatory subject slot filled by a partial clause structure).

Note: The order of objects in causative clauses differs from that in di-transitive clauses (the slots marked O_2 in each contain the same class of fillers). Further, when a causative clause fills the O_1 slot in di-transitive clauses which it often does, the order of objects in the di-transitive clause is changed to follow the causative clause pattern. For example:

di-tCl: Kǎw sàŋ ɲaan Cǎn He gave orders concerning the work to me.
he order work me

but: Kǎw sàŋ | Cǎn | hây Tam ɲaan He ordered
 he order | me | caus. do work me to work.
 S P | O₂ | O₁

²¹hay has many uses in Thai. One of its functions is as a di-transitive verb meaning "give." In causative expressions it means "to make (or let) someone do something." It also functions as a preposition meaning "for."

²²See section on Dependent Clauses.

Examples of Transitive Clause Sub-types:

Impersonal Clauses

P	O		
^m mii	tôn-máy	tron Tii klay Krua	There is a tree near the kitchen.
exist	tree	at place near kitchen	
^C mii	Kon wîṅ	maa	Someone ran up/ came running.
exist	person	run (aux).	
mii	siaṅ	sàtrii láay siaṅ	There were many women's voices
exist	voice	woman many voice	

Di-transitive Clauses

S	P	O ₁	O ₂	
	^C sòṅ	samùt	hây Kunṕṕ	(She) handed the book to her father.
	give	book	to father	
^K kaw	bṕṕk	rîaṅ nán	Căn lâæw	He has already told me that.
he	tell	story that	me already	
nákrian	Tăam	panhăa	^K kaw	The student asked him a question.
student	ask	question	him	

Causative Clauses

S	P	O ₂	O ₁	
^m Căn	cà	hây	^K kaw yùu Tii nîi	I shall allow him to stay here.
I (aux)	let		him stay here	
^m ^K kaw	hây	Căn pay roonriian		He let me go to school.
he	make	me go school		
^C Cæ w	hây	mææ lâw nitaan		Joa got mother to tell a story.
Joa	make	mother tell story		

b. The Passive: a derived sub-type. The type of passive clause in Thai which is formally marked by a passive verb form is derived from a limited group of transitive clauses (those where fillers of the predicate consist of verbs of punishment or verbs implying some degree of unpleasantness)²³ and as a consequence have few manifestations in the language. However, if we define passivity as the placing of focus on the recipient of an action by putting it in the position usually occupied by the actor or performer of the action (i.e. where the object of the active transitive clause becomes the subject of the passive clause and the subject of the active clause becomes the agent of the passive), then Thai manifests other types of passive which are derivable from transitive clauses, and these will be discussed below. Nevertheless, since the normal active transitive clause type is generally preferred wherever possible, and since the unmarked "passives" to be discussed closely resemble either the active transitive clause or the descriptive clause in pattern, it was decided to present the passive clause here with other sub-types rather than with the interrogative and imperative clauses which can be derived from all varieties of primary declarative clause types.

²³See Kanchana Sindhavanandha, "The Verb in Modern Thai," p. 203.

Formula 5a. Marked Passive Clause Nucleus.

$$\text{marked pCl} = \pm S_o : \text{nom} + \text{pm} : \text{Tùuk}^{24} \pm \text{Ag} : \text{nom} \\ + P : \text{tv}_u$$

(that is, a marked passive clause consists of an optional subject-as-recipient-of-action slot filled by a nominal, an obligatory passive marker slot filled by Tùuk, an optional agent slot filled by a nominal, and an obligatory predicate slot filled by a transitive verb of unpleasantness).

Example (showing relationship between an active transitive clause and its passive transform):

	S	P	O		S	pm.	Ag.	P
tCl:	Kăw	tii	lûuk		lûuk	Tuuk	Kăw	tii
	he	beat	son		son	(pm)	he	beat
	He	beat	(his) son.		His son	was	beaten	by
							him.	

It is seen that in this type of transform the object of the active transitive clause becomes the subject of the passive clause, and the subject of the active clause becomes the agent in the passive clause.

Other examples of Marked Passive Clauses are:

	S		pm.		Ag.		P
	^m lòn		Tùuk		CákCuan	hây	pen Kruu
	she		(pm)		persuade	caus.	be teacher
	She		was		persuaded	to	become a teacher.
	^v Căn		Tùuk	^m mææ		dù	
	I		(pm)	mother		scold	
	I		was	scolded		by (my) mother.	
	^c mây		Tùuk		hàk	ṇan	raaydây Kṇṇ lòn
	neg		(pm)		reduce	money	income of her
	(She)		did not		have	her	income reduced.

²⁴An alternative form of the passive marker is doon which however did not occur in the corpus.

Other instances of passivization are as follows:

Formula 5b. Unmarked Passive Clause.

1. pCl with inan. S = $\overset{+}{S}_O$: inan. nom + P : tv
+ M : aux/adjl/advl

(that is, one type of unmarked passive clause consists of an optional subject-as-recipient-of-action slot filled by a transitive verb, and an obligatory manner slot filled by an auxiliary, an adjectival or an adverbial).

Examples:

	S	P	O	aux		S	tv	aux.
tCl:	Kon	kway	plee	yù ²⁵	pCl:	^m plee	kway	yù
		person	rock	cradle			cradle	rock
		Someone is rocking				The cradle is being		
		the cradle.				rocked.		
	S	P	O	Adj.		S	tv	adj.
tCl:	Kon	duu	Pét	ɲaam	pCl:	^m Pét	duu	ɲaam
		person					diamond	
		see diamond		beautiful			see beautiful	
		Someone sees the				The diamond is (seen		
		beautiful diamond.				to be) beautiful.		
	S	P	O	M				
tCl:	Kon	prakòp	săay	nii	dûay	TápTim		
		person	make	string	this	with	rubies	
		Someone made this					string with rubies.	
	S		tv		M. (advl)			
pCl:	^m săay	nii	prakòp	dûay	TápTim			
		string	this	make	with	rubies		
		This string is					made with rubies.	

²⁵yù is a progressive marker (see section on the Predicate).

Note: The patterning in this type of passive closely resembles the descriptive clause since the whole predicate can be regarded as forming the same function as that of a descriptive verb, in which case the situational role of the subject becomes that of item described rather than receiver of the action.

2. pCl with dâyrap = $\pm S_o$: nom + P : dâyrap
+ O : nom \pm Ag : RA

(that is, one type of unmarked passive clause consists of an optional subject-as-recipient-of-action slot filled by a nominal, an obligatory predicate slot filled by dâyrap, an obligatory object slot filled by a nominal (often a nominalized construction), and an optional agent slot filled by a relator-axis or prepositional phrase).

Examples:

	S	P	O		S	P	O	Ag.	
tCl:	Kăw	Com	lòn	pCl:	lòn	dâyrap	KamCom	càak Kăw	
	he	praise	her		she	receive	praise	from him	
	He	praised	her.		She	was	praised	(by him).	
	S	P	O ₁	O _a	S	F	O	Ag.	
di.tCl:	Kăw	hây	ḡon	lòn	pCl:	lòn	dâyrap	ḡon	càak Kăw
	he	give	money	her		she	receive	money	from him
	He	gives	money	(to)her.		She	is	given	money (by him).

Most transitive clauses with transitive verbs which do not imply unpleasantness can be transformed into the patterns given above. Without considering the situational role of the grammatical subject, these "unmarked passives" would not seem to differ from the transitive clause types. However, it is my feeling that the verb

dâyráp is reserved mainly for this type of transformation, and that the transitive verb ráp²⁶ is the one generally found in straight transitive clauses not derived from other active transitive clauses as in the above examples. Unfortunately there were very few cases of dâyráp in the corpus, so that further investigation may well discover evidence to disprove as well as support this hypothesis.

It is worth noting that of the thousand or more clauses which were isolated, only about twenty belong to the passive type as analyzed here, so that it seems clear that Thai makes very little use of this type of construction. Moreover, since it seems that any classification of "passive" clauses in Thai must involve lexical or semantic distinctions rather than formal ones, it might be questioned whether a real formal passive clause type actually exists in the language. Further investigation should provide interesting answers to this problem.

3. Derived Clause Types

Interrogative and imperative clause types are related to and derivable from each of the primary clause types discussed above.

a. Interrogative clause types. An interrogative or question type utterance is used by a speaker

²⁶ Kanchana Sindhavanandha has shown conclusively that, dây is not a past tense marker in Thai, so that dâyráp here is not simply the past tense of ráp. See "The Verb in Modern Thai," pp. 42-44.

when he wishes to request information or verification on a certain subject matter and expects to receive a reply from the person he addresses. The distribution of interrogative utterances is thus characterized by occurrence before a reply, and classification can be based on the type of expected response. A common type of interrogative is the type where the speaker expects a yes-no (or right-wrong) type of response. In Thai this type of utterance is formed by adding a question marker to a declarative clause which remains otherwise unchanged, forming the following patterns:

Formula 6a. Yes-No Interrogative Clause Types

1. Yes-No Q-iCl = + Nucleus of iCl + QM :
Q-particle/Q-tag²⁷
2. Yes-No Q-tCl = + Nucleus of tCl + QM :
Q-particle/Q-tag
3. Yes-No Q-eqCl = + Nucleus of eqCl + QM :
Q-particle/Q-tag
4. Yes-No Q-desCl = + Nucleus of desCl + QM :
Q-particle/Q-tag

Each of the above interrogative clauses differs from its primary declarative counterpart in the following ways: (1) in the number tagmemes; and (2) in external

²⁷The various restrictions in connection with the forms of response to these interrogatives are outside the scope of this investigation and will not be dealt with here.

distribution (see the discussion on procedures for separating clause types in section A.1. of this chapter). Each interrogative or question clause differs from the others in the same way that declarative clause types contrast with each other.

Examples:

Yes-No Q-iCl	Kăw pay lăew rǎi he go already Q-prt	Has he gone?
Yes-No Q-tCl	^C hěn mǎy see Q-prt	(Do you) see?
Yes-No Q-eqCl	^m aay Căy mǎy shy is-that-right	(You are) shy, aren't you?
Yes-No Q-desCl	ⁿ ii bāan Kăw mǎy Căy rǎi this house his not so prt.	Isn't this his house?

Another type of interrogative involves changes in the slot fillers of the primary declarative clauses. In this type of interrogative, which we shall call the "information" interrogative clause type, a question word takes the position of one of the fillers in the corresponding declarative clause, changing that tagmeme into a question tagmeme, with no change in the original position of tagmemes. The question words used in this type of interrogative fill slots of all nuclear and peripheral tagmemes excepting the predicate tagmeme. The following chart shows the question words which appeared in the corpus and their positions of occurrence. Each question tagmeme performs both an interrogative function and the function of the tagmeme which it replaces:

(Q) ²⁸	Q	P	Q	Q
± F : Tammay why	± S : Kray/ who	+P:iv/	± O : Kray/ who	± F ²⁹ :Tammay why
± T : m̂arày when	aray/ what	tv/	aray what	± T : m̂arày when
	(N)+Kray/ whose	eqv/	(N)+Kray whose	± M : yàaṅray how
	Konnāy which one	desv	Konnāy which one	± L : Tīināy where

Since it is difficult to give a detailed structural formula for each information interrogative clause type, a collapsed clause formula³⁰ will be given instead, and the structures illustrated by examples.

Formula 6b. Information Interrogative Clause Types.

Info. Q-Cl = + Nucleus of declarative clause (minus any tagmeme replaced by a question tagmeme) + Q:question word

The differences between each primary declarative clause type and its information interrogative transform are:

1. difference in internal structure of nuclear tagmemes; or
2. difference in the number of nuclear tagmemes; and

²⁸This is an alternative position for these tagmemes.

²⁹F = purpose slot.

³⁰Ruth M. Brend made effective use of this technique in her study: A Tagmemic Analysis of Mexican Spanish Clauses (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1968). My solution here is based on her treatment of the interrogative, p. 32.

3. difference in external distribution.

Examples:

Declarative iCl.	Kǎw nân Kân̄k̄k̄ he sit outside	He's sitting outside.
Info. Q-iCl.	Kǎw nân Tîin̄y he sit where	Where is he sitting?
Declarative tCl.	l̄n Tam sīn̄ d̄n̄ she make noise loud	She's making a lot of noise.
Info. Q-tCl.	l̄n Tam ar̄y she do what	What is she doing?
Declarative eqCl.	d̄ǣn̄ pen PûuCuay Kǎw Dang be helper his	Dang is his assistant.
Info. Q-eqCl. (1)	Kray pen PûuCuay Kǎw who be helper his	Who is his assistant?
(2)	d̄ǣn̄ pen PûuCuay Kray Dang be helper whose	Dang is whose assistant?
Declarative desCl.	s̄yK̄ȳ s̄yay necklace beautiful	The necklace is beautiful
Info. Q-desCl.	ar̄y s̄yay what beautiful	What is beautiful?

b. Imperative clause types. Imperative clauses differ in distribution from declarative and interrogative clauses by occurring before an action type of response (i.e., a person using an imperative or command type of utterance expects to have his instructions carried out by the person he addresses). In Thai, imperative clauses can be derived from all primary declarative clause types except the impersonal sub-type of the transitive clause.³¹

³¹ Although this is the theoretical possibility, it is quite likely that some imperative transforms of certain individual declarative clauses are never found in the actual language situation.

The main difference in internal structure between an imperative clause and its declarative counterpart is that the form of the negative found in imperative clauses differs from that found in declarative clauses (imperative yàa "don't" versus declarative mây "not").³² In addition to the above features, imperative clauses also sometimes have a final imperative marker. An over-all formula of imperative clauses is as follows:

Formula 7. Imperative or Command Clause Types

C-Cl = + Nucleus of primary declarative clause (with change in the predicate tagmeme to imperative) \pm C : imperative particle(s)³³

To summarize, imperative clause types differ from other clause types in

1. filler of the negative predicate slot;
2. presence of an optional imperative marker slot; and
3. external distribution.

³²See also the section on constituents of the predicate (chapter IV).

³³The two most common imperative particles are si or combinations with si (which were the only ones found in the corpus) for positive imperative clauses, and na or combinations with na for negative imperative clauses. When si occurs in negative or na in positive imperative clauses, the utterance seems to have added emphasis or persuasiveness.

Examples³⁴

C-iCl:	(dææŋ) ɔ̀k maa nîi <u>sí</u> ³⁵ come out here prt.	(Dang!) Come out here.
C-tCl	<u>yàa</u> Tam yàaŋ nán <u>ná</u> neg. do like that prt.	Don't do that!
C-di-tCl	bòk r̂aŋ nán Kǎw sí tell story that him prt.	Tell him about that.
C-caus.tCl	<u>yàa</u> hây man nîi-pay <u>ná</u> neg. let it escape prt.	Don't let it get away.
C-eqCl	(Kun) pen tuaTææn Cǎn <u>Tii sí</u> you be substitute me once prt.	Be my substitute (for a while).
C-desCl	Kayǎn <u>nỳ sí</u> diligent a bit prt.	Be a bit more hard working!

B. Dependent Clause Types

In contrast to independent clauses, a dependent clause can never stand along in a situation type utterance in the language, but always occurs within another structure. Dependent and independent clauses combine to form larger units. That level of construction which includes clauses among its constituents is the sentence level. As a unit, the sentence has been defined as "an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical

³⁴Since few imperative clauses occurred in the corpus with no examples of imperative equational or imperative descriptive clauses, I have provided further examples of these other types.

³⁵According to Richard B. Noss, sí (and varieties of it) "is used most commonly to urge action on the part of someone who is not acting, or to change the course of action of someone who is." From Thai Reference Grammar (Washington, D.C.: Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State, 1964), p. 210.

Construction in any larger form."³⁶

Since a sentence usually consists of one or more clauses, it often happens that "sentence" and "clause" will coincide. However, a sentence may also consist of a non-clause or an incomplete clause structure as its constituent.³⁷ Non-clause and incomplete clause sentences are minor sentences. Major sentences contain at least one independent clause as a constituent. The three main types of major sentences are: (1) simple sentence, having the overall structure of a single independent clause; (2) compound sentence, containing two or more independent clauses; and (3) complex sentence, containing one independent and at least one dependent clause which do not combine to form the overall structure of a single clause. The last type of major sentence just mentioned does not coincide in structure with clause level constructions.

In the rest of this section, dependent clauses will be primarily classified according to their internal structure. Within each class thus isolated further classification according to the distribution and function of each type of dependent clause will be made, with particular attention given to those dependent clauses which

³⁶ Leonard Bloomfield, Language (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1933), p. 170.

³⁷ As Ruth M. Brend has pointed out: "One major difference between clause and sentence is the inclusion of an obligatory predicate for the clause but not for the sentence." From A Tagmemic Analysis of Mexican Spanish Clauses, p. 21.

can occur as fillers of clause level slots.

1. Subordinated or Relator-Axis Clause Types

This type of dependent clause has an overt relator marking dependency and can be analyzed as a bipartite relator-axis type of structure, consisting of a clause subordinator and a clause as axis. The axis may be manifested by any of the primary clause types, so that the formula for this type of clause is as follows:

Formula 8. Subordinated or Relator-Axis Clause Types

$$\text{RA-Cl} = + \text{R} : \text{relator} + \text{Ax} : \text{Nucleus of primary clause}^{38}$$

Note: Relator-axis clauses were the only dependent clause types found to occur in combination with independent clauses in complex sentence types (see discussion of sentence types above).

Since dependent clauses cannot stand alone as independent entities, they always fill subordinate positions. The process of subordination is called an embedding process. Relator-axis clauses are embedded at (1) the sentence level, and (2) the clause level. In the first instance, they function as adverbials only, and this type of embedding is termed marginal embedding (i.e. they fill marginal slots in the complex sentence structure).

³⁸ Clause constructions occurring in this slot are less extensive and elaborate than those occurring in independent situations.

Relator-axis clauses which are embedded at this level form the only true complex sentences (consisting of multiple clause structures in what Longacre calls a "patterned dependency" type of combination). This type of sentence structure with its restrictions concerning connecting particles, order and type of clauses used, etc., would provide material for an interesting and absorbing study. However, it lies outside the scope of the present investigation which is more concerned with identifying dependent clauses which are embedded within clause constructions.

When dependent clauses are embedded at the clause level, the structure has the over-all structure of a single clause, with the dependent clauses taking the place of entities such as single words³⁹ or phrases⁴⁰ filling parallel slots in order clause constructions. Their typical use at this level is as adverbials filling peripheral slots of time, place (location) or manner, each function being specified by the use of a subordinating

³⁹I am taking as my working definition of "word" the following: "a construction in which the constitute is a minimally free form in the language and whose constituents are morphemes (these being the minimum meaningful forms in the language)"--adapted from Walter A. Cook, Introduction to Tagmemic Analysis, p. 117. In tagmemic analysis, words typically fill slots at the phrase level.

⁴⁰A phrase has been defined as "a unit composed of two or more words potentially, which do not have the characteristic of a clause, and typically, but not always, fills slots on the clause level" (Elson and Pickett, An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax, p. 73).

particle. Typical relators of this class include compounds with Tîi and wâa (without restrictions in connection with other elements obligatorily introduced into the clause: relator-axis clauses introduced by relators which require the introduction of additional particles into the string will be regarded as sentence level embeddings). The following table shows some of the temporal, locational and manner relators to be found in this connection:

T relators	L relators	M relators
mîa (when)	Túk hàæŋ Tîi... (wherever)	taam Tîi....(like/ following..)
con (until)		mîan kàp Tîi.... (like/in the same way as...)
con-kraTân		mîan kàp wâa... (as if)
ràwàanTîi (while)		

Locational relator-axis clauses occurred very rarely in the corpus, location slots being generally filled by locational phrases. No relator-axis clauses were found at the phrase level.

Examples

Temporal Clauses

^c mîa l'òn yaŋ pen dèk when she (aux) be child	When she was still a child....
^c mîa mææ klàp láæw when mother return (aux)	When mother returns/ has returned....

... ^m con Kon dæ̃n Kâam dẫy until people walk across (am)	...until people are able to walk across it.
...con-kraTân̄ lòn Kâwcãy until she understand	...until she under- stood.
^m râwàan̄Tîi lòn lîak sẫpâa while she choose clothes	While she was choosing her clothes

Locational Clause

Túk hæ̃æ̃n̄ Tîi Kăw pay.... every place that he go	Wherever he went
---	-----------------------

Manner Clauses

^m taam Tîi Kon riak kan following people say (plural marker)	...following what people say.
m̃ian kâp Tîi Kăw riak n̄õn̄ like he call younger sibling	...like he calls his younger brother/ sister....
^c m̃ian kâp wâa lòn dẫy klâp pay as if she (am) return (aux)	...as if she were able to go back...

2. Subordinate Clause Types

Subordinate clauses have no overt relator like in the relator-axis type of dependent clause. The only exception to this rule in Thai is the relator wâa (that) which sometimes precedes this type of dependent clause when it occurs in the object slot of a clause construction. Since wâa is optional, the clauses which it precedes are not relator-axis type clauses because relators in the latter type of clause are always obligatory. Instead of an overt relator, subordinate clauses generally have an internal relative or indefinite pronoun

which is a portmanteau representation⁴¹ acting both as a constituent of the clause and as a subordinator.

Formula 9. Subordinate Clause Type

Sub-Cl = + Subordinator : rel pn/indef pn + Nucleus
of primary clause minus any tagmeme
replaced by subordinator.

Subordinate clause types are embedded both at the clause and at the phrase level.

a. Subordinate clause types embedded at clause level. At this level subordinate clauses function as nominals. The following are some of the subordinators found at this level of embedding:

wâa (followed by complete primary clause ... (that)
with optional occurrence of subject)

Kray (replaces the subject of the included
clause) (whoever)

The above were found only in subordinate clauses occupying the object slot in the main clause.

The following subordinators were all found to act simultaneously as subject of the subordinate clause. Clauses with these subordinators function as either subject or object in the main clause construction:

Kon } (person who...)
Pûu }

dèk (child who....)

Kǒǒŋ (thing which....)

The last subordinator above can be replaced by any common noun referring to an inanimate object.

⁴¹In a portmanteau representation, two tagmemes are simultaneously represented by a single form.

Examples:

Kǎw bə̀k wāa Kǎw yùu bāan yà`
he say that he live house big

^mKǎw bə̀k wāa kliat Cíí nán mǎak
she say that hat name that much

^mmây mii Kray riak Cíí Tân
not exist one call name her

^mKunPə̀ pen Kon mii Kwaam-rúu
father be person have knowledge

^mKun cǎo tǎn pen Kon ńń lèn
Miss Jao must be one ask forgiveness her

^mǎn pen dèk yùu nay oowâat Púuyà`
Ann be child stay in teachings adults

sôy níi pen Kǎń mii raakaa mǎak

He said that he lived in a big house.

She said that she disliked that name very much.

There isn't anyone who calls her by name.

Father is a person who has been educated.

Miss Jao has to be the one who makes up with her.

Ann is a child who obeys her elders.

This necklace is something which is very valuable.

b. Subordinate clause types embedded at phrase level. At this level, subordinate clause types function mainly as adjectivals, occurring after the head noun and filling identifier slots in the phrase construction. Subordinate clauses found in this connection are relative clauses with relative pronouns as subordinators. The following pronouns acting as subordinators were found to act simultaneously as subject of the dependent clause:

an (occurs with descriptive clause only).... (which)
 sⁱⁿ (does not occur with des-Cl nucleus) (which/
 who)⁴²

puu (occurs with any primary clause nucleus)...(who)

The following subordinator acts either as subject or object of the dependent clause and has more frequency of occurrence than either of the above:

Tii (occurs with any primary clause nucleus) ... (who/whom/
 which/that)

Note: in the case of Tii type subordinate clauses, when the predicate of the clause consists of a transitive verb or an equational verb and no object follows, the relative pronoun functions as the object. If a subject is present in this type of clause, the order becomes

subordinator
 + O : Tii + S : nom + P : tv/eqv. e.g. Kon Tii C. ...

⁴²The meaning given first represents the preferred use of the subordinator in question.

Examples

^mrót ㄨㄛˊ cāk bāan an kwāan-Kwaan
car leave from house which large

The car left the large house.

^mlòn ㄇㄨㄛˊ rāan an naam-sanāa Kǎn Kǎw
she look figure which princely of his

She looked at his regally built frame.

^mKǎw hěn ㄎㄨㄛˊ an Kǎaw Pòn Kǎn lòn
he see neck which white clear of her

He saw her beautifully fair neck.

^mlòn duu ㄉㄨㄛˊ Táaw sîn nāap Táaw lòn
she look shoes which fit feet her

She looked at the shoes on her feet.

^mlòn dāyráp kaan sǎn cāk aacaan yáy sîn pen yǐn amerikan
she receive teaching from headmistress who be woman American

She was taught by the head-mistress who was an American lady.

^mKǎw hǎn pay Taan KunPǎo sîn nān yùu bon Páin
he turn (aux) toward father who sit (aux) on floor

He turned toward father who was sitting on the floor.

^cTam hāy lòn Púu fàycay nay kaan lâorian rú Paasaa
do make she who interested in learning know language
ankrit English

(It) made her who was already interested in studying understand the English language.

^mKon Tii yǎn yùu nāa ták wǐn maa
person who stand (aux) in building run (aux)

The person who was standing in front of the building ran up.

^cKunPǎo Cúay naan Tii Kuan Cúay
father help party that should help

Father gives (his) services at those parties that (he feels) he ought to help.

^mlòn cam fúk yāan Tii Kǎy dāyyin
she remember everything that (am) hear

She remembers everything that (she) has heard.

Subordinate clause types also occur as objects of prepositions, e.g. $\check{s}\check{a}m\grave{r}\grave{a}p$ Kon nân-lên "for people to sit-play sit around on" in which case the subordinators are the same as those which occur with subordinate clauses functioning as nominal subject or object at the clause level (i.e., Kon, Puu, dèk, etc.)

3. Partial Clause Types

Partial clauses are restricted in the following ways:

1. There is neither an overt relator nor a portmanteau representation of relator+subject/object occurring with this type of clause;
2. subject omission is an obligatory feature of this type; and
3. partial dependent clauses always occur either as objects within another clause structure or as objects of prepositions.

Formula 10. Partial Clause Types

Partial Cl = + Nucleus of primary clause minus
the subject tagmeme.

a. Partial clause types embedded at clause level.

This function of partial dependent clauses is seen mainly in the causative construction where it occurs as filler of the O_1 slot. All primary clause types (with deleted subject) except the impersonal transitive type can occur in this situation.

b. Partial clause types embedded at phrase level.

Partial clause types occurred in the corpus as objects of the following prepositions (types of primary nucleus are given on the right):

Pâa/sămràp (for the purpose of	iCl/tCl
dooy (by means of, in the manner of).	iCl/tCl/ desCl
yàan (in the manner of)	eqCl/desCl
pay/maa (to)	iCl/tCl/eqCl

Examples

^mlòn lîak sâaPâa sămràp sŭam nay wan nán
 she choose clothes for wear in day that
 She chose the clothes to wear on that day.

^msămii Kŏŏŏ lòn Kân rót dooy mây rŏŏ lòn
 husband of her ascend car by not wait for her
 Her husband got in the car without waiting for her.

^clòn dâyráp ŋəndian yàan nâa plâap-plîim
 she receive pay in manner should be pleased
 She received the kind of pay to be pleased about.

^mŋuu nán plian càak ŋuu Tammadaa pay pen ŋuu Pan Písèet
 snake that change from snake ordinary to become snake kind special
 That snake changed from an ordinary snake to a special kind.

Kăw aw Kâaw maa pŏŏn hây lûuk
 she bring rice to feed for child
 She brings rice to feed her child.

Note that constructions with pay and maa functioning as prepositions are similar to infinitive expressions in English.⁴³

⁴³For prepositional and other uses of "pay" and "maa," see Kanchana Sindhavananda, "The Verb in Modern Thai," pp. 29-30, fn. 1.

Another point I would like to mention here is that there were several subjectless constructions with the equational verb Kīi in the corpus whose function remains somewhat ambiguous. In these examples, Kīi seems to have the meaning "which is/ which means/that is/ meaning . . .". The construction occurs in appositive position to either the subject or the predicate of an independent clause, so that one solution might be to analyze it as a partial clause occurring in the appositive slot of an item-appositive type of construction. However, this was felt to be too tentative a solution to warrant inclusion in the section on partial dependent clause types. Two typical examples of this function of the Kīi clause are:

Tân aTíkaan Kīi sǎmii Kǎŋ lòn kamlan ɾɾ
 The rector, meaning her husband, was waiting.

lòn mii kaan sǎksǎa Pɾɾ Kuan Kīi àan ɔ̄k Kǎn dâ
 She has education enough, meaning (she is) able to read
 and write.

IV. CONSTITUENTS OF THE PREDICATE

Of all clause level tagmemes, the predicate tag-meme is by far the most important in the Thai clause. The structure of the Thai verb phrase is more complex than any other type of phrase structure in the language. Predicate constituents will be indicated here so that the reader may have a better understanding of the Thai clause. An important feature of the predicate which affects the clause as a whole is that of negation. Thai clauses are negated by introducing a negative into the verb phrase, although a general picture of the optional negative transformation in Thai clauses can be shown in the following way:

$$Cl = \pm S + P \pm O \implies \text{neg Cl} = \pm S + \text{Neg}^1 + P \pm O$$

Predicates of all types of clauses can be negated in this manner. A more detailed explanation of the positions of the negative marker will be found in the next section.

A. Expanded Formulas for the Predicate Slot

The following is a list of some of the more typical fillers to be found in the predicate slot and includes formulas giving the structure of the verb phrases.

¹This is yàa for imperative, mây for all other clauses.

1. Fillers of the Intransitive Predicate Slot

These consist of: (1) intransitive verbs; (2) coordinate intransitive verbs;² and (3) intransitive verb phrases.

Formula 11. Intransitive Verb Phrase

$$iv = \begin{array}{l} \pm \text{ aspect } \overline{\text{marker}_1 \pm \text{pre-verb}} \text{ aux}_1 \pm \text{pre-verb aux}_2 \\ \pm \text{ aspect marker}_2 \pm \text{pre-verb aux}_3 + \underline{\text{intransitive}} \\ \underline{\text{verb}} \pm \text{post-verb aux}_1 \pm \text{post-verb aux}_2 / \text{post-verb} \\ \text{aspect marker } \pm \text{post-verb aux}_3 \end{array}$$

2. Fillers of the Transitive Predicate Slot

These consist of: (1) transitive verbs; (2) coordinate transitive verbs; (3) transitive verb phrases.

Formula 12. Transitive Verb Phrase

$$tv = \begin{array}{l} \pm \overline{\text{am}_1 \pm \text{pre-v}} \text{ aux}_1 \pm \text{pre-v aux}_2 \pm \text{am}_2 \pm \text{pre-v} \\ \text{aux}_3 + \underline{\text{transitive verb}} (\pm \text{object/objects}) \pm \\ \text{post-v aux}_1 \pm \text{post-v aux}_2 / \text{post-v am } \pm \text{post-v} \\ \text{aux}_3 \end{array}$$

Note: In negative transitive and intransitive clauses the general rule is that when the verb phrase contains an aspect marker (whether pre-verb or post-verb) the

²Coordinate structure is "the coordination of two whole constructions to form a single coordinate construction at that level" (Cook, Introduction to Tagmemic Analysis, p. 33).

negative marker mây occurs before the aspect marker, otherwise it precedes the main verb. A negative marker never precedes an auxiliary. When there is more than one aspect marker in the verb phrase, the position of the negative is usually determined on semantic grounds but it is quite possible to have more than one negative in a verb phrase of this type, for example:

Kăw mây Kəy Tam mây dây He has never not suc-
 he neg. (am) do neg (am) ceeded in doing (it).

Note also that the two entities connected by the sign are mutually exclusive.

3. Fillers of the Equational Predicate Slot

These consist of: (1) equational verbs; (2) coordinate equational verbs; (3) equational verb phrases.

Formula 13. Equational Verb Phrase

eqV = \pm neg \pm equational verb + PA \pm post-v aux

Note: 1. The presence of the negative in this type of verb phrase requires the presence of the equational verb.

2. When the equational verb is K $\ddot{\text{z}}$, it is changed to Cây in the negative, so that instead of *neg.eqCl = \pm S + mây + K $\ddot{\text{z}}$ + P we have neg.eqCl = \pm S + mây + Cây + PA

3. No aspect markers occurred with equational or descriptive verb phrases in the corpus, but this is due to the limitation of the data. Aspect markers can occur in all types of verb

phrases (with the important exception of the equational verb phrase with K~~ii~~ as the main verb). When aspect markers do occur in these types of verb phrases, the pattern of negation follows that given above for intransitive and transitive verb phrases.

4. Fillers of the Descriptive Predicate Slot

These consist of: (1) descriptive verbs; (2) coordinate descriptive verbs; (3) descriptive verb phrases.

Formula 14. Descriptive Verb Phrase

$$\text{desV} = \pm \text{pre-v aux}_1 \pm \text{pre-v aux}_2 + \underline{\text{descriptive verb}} \\ \pm \text{post-v aux}_1 \pm \text{post-v aux}_2$$

B. Word Order in the Verb Phrase

There are various restrictions governing the co-occurrence and positions of forms occurring in the verb phrase, some of which I shall tentatively systematize below. The aspect markers and auxiliaries which I shall refer to are those which occur most frequently in the language. First, a list of aspect markers will be given, followed by a chart showing their positions of occurrence. Auxiliaries will then be presented in the same manner. Finally, some tentative suggestions concerning their co-occurrence relationships will be supplied.



1. Aspect Markers (pre-verb)

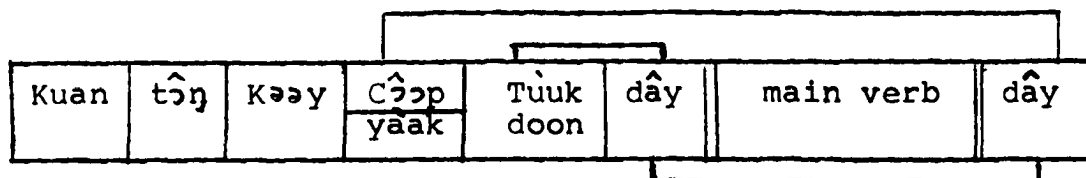
Kuan (should, ought to ...)

t^hŋ (must, have to ...)

Kəy (have experience of ...)

C^həp (like to ...)y^aak (wish to ...)d^ay (have opportunity to ...)

Of the above, only d^ay can occur in post-verbal position, when the meaning becomes "be able to . . .". The two positions of d^ay are mutually exclusive (i.e. d^ay never occurs twice in the same clause). Note also that the two passive markers Tu^huk and doon share the characteristics of aspect markers and will be listed in the chart below. It is rare for a clause to contain more than two pre-verb aspect markers although grammatically that is quite possible. The post-verb d^ay does not occur with pre-verb aspect markers C^həp. The chart shows the typical ordering of these constituents in a verb phrase. Note that pre-verb d^ay and the passive markers are mutually exclusive. Mutually exclusive entities will again be indicated by the sign  or .



From this chart, and using the verb càp "catch" in clauses with a passive marker and the verb lên "play" in the others, the following clauses with two aspect markers can be generated:

(Kǎw)	<u>Kuan</u>	<u>tôn</u>	lên	(He)	<u>really ought to play.</u>
"	<u>Kuan</u>	<u>Kəay</u>	"	"	<u>should have played before</u> (or He should have had an opportunity to play)
"	<u>Kuan</u>	<u>Côp/yàak</u>	"	"	<u>should like/want to play.</u>
"	<u>Kuan</u>	<u>Tuuk/doon</u>	càp	"	<u>should get caught.</u>
"	<u>Kuan</u>	<u>dây</u>	lên	"	<u>should have a chance to play.</u>
"	<u>Kuan</u>		" <u>dây</u>	"	<u>should be able to play.</u> (or He should know how to play)
(Kǎw)	<u>tôn</u>	<u>Kəay</u>	lên	(He)	<u>must have played before.</u> (or He must have had an opportunity to play)
"	<u>tôn</u>	<u>Côp/yàak</u>	"	"	<u>must like/want to play.</u>
"	<u>tôn</u>	<u>Tuuk/doon</u>	càp	"	<u>will certainly be caught.</u>
"	<u>tôn</u>	<u>dây</u>	lên	"	<u>will certainly have an opportunity to play.</u>
"	<u>tôn</u>		" <u>dây</u>	"	<u>must be able to (i.e. know how to) play.</u>

(Kǎw)	<u>Kǎy Cǎp/yaak</u>	lên	(He)	<u>used to like/want to play.</u>
"	<u>Kǎy Tùuk/door</u>	cáp	"	<u>has been caught before.</u>
"	<u>Kǎy dâ</u>	lên	"	<u>has had an opportunity (or used to have opportunities to play.</u>
"	<u>Kǎy</u>	lên <u>dâ</u>	"	<u>used to be able to play.</u>
(Kǎw)	<u>Cǎp Tùuk/door</u>	cáp	(He)	<u>likes to get caught.</u>
"	<u>Cǎp dâ</u>	lên	"	<u>likes to have the chance to play.</u>
(Kǎw)	<u>yaak Tùuk/door</u>	cáp	(He)	<u>wants to get caught.</u>
"	<u>yaak dâ</u>	lên	"	<u>wants to have an opportunity to play.</u>
"	<u>yaak</u>	" <u>dâ</u>	"	<u>wants to be able to play.</u>
(Kǎw)	<u>Tùuk/door</u>	cáp <u>dâ</u>	(He)	<u>has been caught.</u>

2. Auxiliaries

For a detailed and enlightened discussion of Thai auxiliaries the reader should see Kanchana Sindhavananda's treatment of the problem in chapter two of her dissertation "The Verb in Modern Thai." Her presentation provided valuable reference for this part of my investigation. The following list will include the complete list of auxiliaries given on page 38 of "The Verb in Modern Thai" with the exception of nâa which I do not regard as an auxiliary, although there were too few occurrences of it in my corpus for me to be able to assign a definite role

to it.³ I have added two other auxiliaries to the list, namely Kân and lon, which seem to parallel pay and maa in usage, the latter occurring mainly with action type verbs (transitive or intransitive) while the former occur in this function only with descriptive and equational verbs. Pre-verb auxiliaries are as follows:

Assertion markers: c`a
 Kon
 `aat
 Progressive markers: yan
 kamlan
 Perfective markers: P`an

The following are auxiliaries which occur in post-verb position:

Benefactive marker: hay
 Progressive marker: yuu
 Perfective markers: maa
 pay
 l`aew
 Comparative markers: K`in
 lon

³Edward M. Anthony, Deborah P. French and Udom Warotamasikkhadit in Part 1 of their book Foundations of Thai (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1968) suggest that "n`aa + transitive verb functions as a descriptive verb and means 'to be worthy of ____.'" (p. 315). The construction is reminiscent of the kind of clause which I have called the "unmarked passive" (formula 5b(1)), only in this case the subject can be an animate noun and no manner tagmeme in the active clause is required. Compare
 (1) K`aw kin K`aw aroy K`aw kin aroy
 (2) K`aw kin K`aw K`aw n`aa kin

Word order among the auxiliaries is more complicated than among the aspect markers. I have found that dividing the material into two separate charts takes care of the problem better than attempting to show all the relationships in one chart. Note that cà has many positions of occurrence. However, it never occurs more than once in any single clause so that any one of the various positions of this auxiliary excludes all the others. Note also that yaŋ often occurs with the negative marker mây. When this is the case kamlaŋ and yùu cannot occur, so that:

*V = yaŋ + kamlaŋ + neg + verb + yùu is not possible.

Instead, the verb phrase is reduced to:

V = yaŋ + mây + verb.

The following charts show relative positions of occurrence of the auxiliary markers:

I	Koŋ (cà)	yaŋ	kamlaŋ	cà	<u>main verb</u>	hây	yùu	lǎæw
	aat (cà)							

Note: kamlaŋ and cà do not co-occur when yaŋ is present in the verb phrase.

II	Koŋ (cà)	Pâŋ(cà)	kamlaŋ(cà)	<u>verb</u>	Kîn/pay/Kîn pay	hây	yùu	lǎæw
	aat (cà)				loŋ/maa/loŋ maa			
					Kîn maa/loŋ pay			

The above charts show near maximum potential occurrences of aspect markers and auxiliaries, each of which were separately investigated. It would be too complex a task to attempt to put the two sets of constituents together in any coherent fashion here. Only a few remarks can be made at this point. One is that Kuan does not co-occur with either Kon or àat. Another is that tôn, dây, Tuuk and doon are not found in positions preceding the auxiliary cà. The post-verb entities are fewer and lend themselves more easily to systematization than pre-verb ones. The post-verb aspect marker dây cannot be preceded by a negative marker if it co-occurs with Tuuk or doon. It also seems that dây combines with post-verb auxiliaries in the following way:

V +	Kân/pay/Kân pay/Kân maa lon/maa/lon maa/lon pay	hây	yùu	dây	lææw
-----	--	-----	-----	-----	------

Since the reader can easily see that such auxiliary charts contain the same type of generative potential as was demonstrated for aspect markers, further illustration is not offered.

It should be noted that this particular approach to the systematization of the Thai verb phrase was begun, as noted on page 19, by Edward M. Anthony in his article "Verboid Constructions in Thai." His work was instrumental in helping me to gain a better insight into the organization of these forms within the predicate phrase structure.

It is to be hoped that the work done so far will provide the starting point for future investigations into this very interesting area of the Thai language.

V. CLAUSE EXPANSIONS AND VARIANTS

A. Expanded Formulas for Primary Clauses

Compared to the complexity of the predicate tagmeme, the other tagmemes in the Thai clause construction reveal relatively simple constituent structures. The clauses which occurred in the corpus were generally short, consisting of few tagmemes without many changes in order. The temporal tagmeme was the only one clearly found to have an optional differing position of occurrence. Changes in the order of tagmemes is therefore not an important feature in clause variation for the Thai language. Clause variation can be achieved to a greater extent by means of optional expansion in the number of tagmemes.

The following formulas give the maximum number of tagmemes found in the corpus for each of the primary clause types. Only the function slot labels will be given here. The class of fillers for each tagmeme will be discussed in the next section. Nuclear tagmemes will be underlined. It should be noted that predicates of all clause types may be discontinuous, with object or manner tagmemes occupying the position between the main verb and post-verb auxiliaries.

Formula 15. Expanded Intransitive Clause

± Time ± Subject-as-actor + Intransitive Predicate
± Manner ± Benefactive ± Location ± Time
± Purpose

Formula 16. Expanded Transitive Clause:

± Time ± Subject-as-actor + Transitive Predicate
 ± Object(s) ± Manner ± Benefactive ± Instrument
 ± Location ± Purpose ± Time

Formula 17. Expanded Equational Clause:

± Time ± Subject-as-item ± Equational Predicate
 + Pred. Attribute

Formula 18. Expanded Descriptive Clause:

± Time ± Subject-as-item + Descriptive Predicate
 ± Manner ± Degree ± Purpose ± Location ± Time

Note: Variation in the order of tagmemes is probably a stylistic feature with each person using a certain preferred order from among the possibilities. Although the corpus does not indicate this, the order ± T ± - L + Cl Nucleus are quite common among some Thai speakers.

B. Fillers of Optional Tagmemes

Variants of clauses are also formed by means of different fillers of functional slots. The following is a list of some of the typical classes of fillers which can be found in the optional clause level slots in the Thai language. The list is merely representative and is not intended to be exhaustive. Where phrases occur as manifesting items, their constituent structures will be

indicated so that the reader may be able to make better use of the sample lexicon listed in Appendix B at the end of this paper.

Fillers of the Subject Slot:

nouns;

pronouns;

noun phrases (+ H : n \pm Mod : demonstratives/
possessive pns./
numerals/adjectives;

subordinate dependent clauses.

Fillers of the Object Slot:

These are the same as fillers of the subject slot with the following differences:

1. The object slot of impersonal clauses is often filled by a non-dependent type of clause.
2. Causative clauses contain partial clauses as fillers of the O₁ slot.
3. Fillers of the O₂ slot include prepositional phrases.

Fillers of the Predicate Attribute Slot:

nouns;

noun phrases;

subordinate clauses (without wâa...);

adjectives or adjective phrases (+ H : adj \pm Mod:
intensifier);

adverbs or adverb phrases (+ H : adv \pm Mod:
intensifier).

Fillers of Slots of Peripheral Tagmemes:

- Time : temporal words/prepositional (relator-axis) phrases/ RA-clauses.
- Manner : adverbs/ adverb phrases/ RA-clauses.
- Location : mainly location words or relator-axis phrases.

Other peripheral tagmemes occurring less frequently have less variety in filler classes:

- Purpose : mainly relator-axis phrase.
- Degree : adverb or adverb phrase of degree.
- Agent : Ra-phrase (\pm R : dooy + H : nom (animate)).
- Instrument: Ra-phrase (\pm R : d^uay/dooy + H : inan. nom).

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study has been to investigate the structure of Thai clauses according to the tagmemic approach. The principal contrastive clause types in Thai were analyzed as follows:

Independent Clause Types

Primary Clauses

Declarative Clause Types

iCl = $\pm S_a$: nom + P : iv

tCl = $\pm S_a$: nom + P : tv $\pm O$: nom

eqCl = $\pm S_i$: nom $\pm P$: eqv + PA : nom/adjl/advl

desCl = $\pm S_1$: nom + P : desv

Sub-types of Transitive Clauses

impers.tCl = \emptyset + P : mi + O : Cl/nom

di-tCl = $\pm S_a$: nom + P : di-tv $\pm O_1$: nom $\pm O_2$: nom

caus.tCl = $\pm S_a$: nom + P = $\hat{h}ay$ $\pm O_2$: nom + O_1 : partial Cl

Passive Clauses

marked pCl = $\pm S_o$: nom + pm : $T\grave{u}uk$ $\pm Ag$: nom + P : tv_u

pCl with inan. S = $\pm S_o$: inan. nom + P : tv + M : aux/adjl/
advl

pCl with $\hat{d}ayr\acute{a}p$ = $\pm S_o$: nom + P : $\hat{d}ayr\acute{a}p$ + O : nom $\pm Ag$: RA

Derived Clauses

Interrogative Clauses

Yes-No Q-Cl = + Nucleus of primary clause + QM :

Q-particle/Q-tag

info. Q-Cl = + Nucleus of primary clause (minus any tagmeme replaced by question tagmeme)
+ Q : question word

Imperative Clauses

C-Cl = + Nucleus of primary declarative clause (with change in predicate tagmeme to imperative)
+ C : imperative particle

Dependent Clause Types

Subordinated or Relator-Axis Clause Types

RA-Cl = + R : relator + Ax : nucleus of primary clause

Subordinate Clause Types

Sub-Cl = + Sub : rel pn/indef pn + Nucleus of primary clause minus any tagmeme replaced by subordinator

Partial Clause Types

Partial Cl = + Nucleus of primary clause minus the subject tagmeme

I have attempted to show relationships between derived clauses and the primary clauses through the use of illustrative examples in which the notion of transforms was utilized to a considerable extent. Transformational techniques may also prove useful in handling the complex problem in connection with the combination of auxiliaries and aspect markers within the verb phrase.

In the course of the analysis several promising areas for further investigation were discovered. Among

the more interesting possibilities are passivity, response type utterances, co-occurrence restrictions within the verb phrase, and the use of imperative markers in Thai, especially the combinations of particles which signify various shades of meaning. It was also found that a combined tagmemic and transformational approach can provide an effective tool of research into language structures; more effective, perhaps, than a purely transformational type of approach which too often is not based on a sound taxonomic foundation. I share the belief with Archibald A. Hill that such a foundation is "the necessary basis¹ for all the more operative types of scientific analysis."

It is hoped that by making a clear distinction between main verbs and aspect markers a great deal of unnecessary complexity within the Thai clause has been eliminated or at least reduced. Many verbal strings which were usually treated as "complex" in earlier studies have been shown to be analyzable as simple clause types. This difference in approach may perhaps be utilized to advantage in pedagogical situations. In fact, the strong pragmatic basis of tagmemics should make the model appealing to most teachers, and as a teacher I hope that this analysis or some part of it may indeed prove to

¹Archibald A. Hill, "Summary and a Peek at the Future," in Linguistics Today, ed. by A. A. Hill (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1969), p. 277.

have some useful application in the practical classroom situation.

Finally, since tagmemics makes full use of the notion of contrastive differences (often considered to be the principal investigative tool contributed by the structuralist school of linguists) as well as incorporates the findings of transformational grammar in its framework, the approach in this way seems to have an advantage over a purely structural or a purely transformational type of approach. The model was found to be a most suitable medium for this investigation, providing a well-organized method of analysis and a useful grammatical unit which combines the explanation of both form and function (including the real-world function shown through subscripts symbolizing the situational roles of the units). Therefore it is to be hoped that this attempt at analysis of the clause structure of Thai through the tagmemic approach may contribute in some measure to a better understanding of the nature of language as a whole, and perhaps also be of some value to those wishing to learn something of the Thai language.

APPENDIX A

PHONEMIC SYMBOLS

Consonants

			Labial	Apical	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl.	unaspirated	p	t	c	k	
		aspirated	P	T	C	K	
	vd.	unaspirated	b	d			
Spirants: vl.			f	s			h
Resonants	vd.	Nasals	m	n		ŋ	
	vd.	Laterals		l			
	vd.	Retroflex		r			
	vd.	Semivowels	w		y		

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low	æ	a	ɔ

Note: Double vowels indicate length

Tones

Mid	(no mark)
Low	˘
Falling	ˆ
High	ˊ
Rising	ˋ

The phonemic symbols used in this study are based on those employed by Kanchana Sindhavanada in "The Verb in Modern Thai" with modifications adopted from the notational system used by Edward M. Anthony, Deborah P. French, and Udom Warotamasikkhadit in Foundations of Thai.

APPENDIX B

A SAMPLE CLASSIFIED LEXICON OF THAI

The following is a classified list of the major lexical items which were used in this study:

A. The Noun System

1. Nouns and Pronouns

(form)	(class)	(gloss)
àTíkaan	n.	"rector"
bâan	n.	"house"
bídaa	n.	"father"
Căn	pn.	"I/me"
dèk	n.	"child"
kaansìksǎa	n.	"education"
KamCom	n.	"praise"
Kanǒm	n.	"candy"
Kǎw	pn.	"he/him/she/her/ they/them"
Kon	n.	"person/people"
Kon	pn.	"someone"
Kǎw	n.	"thing"
Kray	pn.	"whoever"
Krua	n.	"kitchen"
Kun	pn.	"you"
KunP ^{๑๑}	n.	"father"
l ^{๑๑} n	pn.	"she/her"

(form)	(class)	(gloss)
lôok	n.	"world"
lûuk	n.	"child"
man	pn.	"it"
mææ	n.	"mother"
naay-won	n.	"conductor (of orchestra)"
naan	n.	"work"
ṅən	n.	"money"
plee	n.	"cradle"
Pét	n.	"diamond"
Piinóŋ	n.	"siblings"
PúuCúay	n.	"assistant"
rían	n.	"story/matter"
roonrian	n.	"school"
rún	n.	"age group"
săay	n.	"string"
săamii	n.	"husband"
samùt	n.	"book"
sian	n.	"voice"
sôyK>>	n.	"necklace"
Tân	pn.	"he/she/you (polite)"
tôn-máy	n.	"tree"
tuaTææn	n.	"substitute"
TápTim	n.	"ruby"
Tii	n.	"place"
Tii	pn.	"who/whom/which/that"

2. Noun Modifiers

(form)	(class)	(gloss)
baw	adj.	"soft/light"
daŋ	adj.	"loud"
diaw	adj.	"same"
nán	dem.	"that"
níi	dem.	"this"
ŋaam	adj.	"beautiful"
sanùk	adj.	"happy/gay"
sũay	adj.	"pretty"

B. The Verb System

1. Verbs and Markers

a. Main Verbs:

àan (òk)	tv.	"(able to) read"
bòk	di-tv.	"tell"
Com	tv.	"praise"
dâyrap	pv.	"receive"
hây	di-tv.	"give"
hây	caus.tv.	"make/let (someone do something)"
hěn	tv.	"see"
Kayăn	desv.	"diligent"
Kian (dây)	tv.	"(able to) write"
Kiì	eqv.	"be"
lên	tv.	"play"
maa	iv.	"come"

(form)	(class)	(gloss)
mii	tv.	"have"
nâŋ	iv.	"sit"
nii	iv.	"escape"
ɔ̀k	iv.	"go out/leave"
pen	eqv.	"be"
plæ̀æk	desv.	"different/ strange"
rɔ̀	tv.	"wait for"
sòŋ	di-tv.	"hand (something to someone)"
Tam	tv.	"do/make"
wiŋ	iv.	"run"
yím	iv.	"smile"
yùu	iv.	"stay/be there"

b. Aspect Markers and Auxiliaries:

Since these have been listed together in
Ch. IV.B. they will not be given here.

2. Verb Modifiers

kan	adv.	"together"
Kâaŋ-nâk	"	"outside"
mâak	"	"much"
nii	"	"here"
nɔ̀y	"	"a little bit"
Pɔ̀k Kuan	"	"enough"
Tii	"	"one time"
Tii-nii	"	"here"

C. Other Items

1. Particles

mây [^]	negative
mây ^ˇ	Q-particle
ná	imperative particle
sí	" "
yàa	imperative negative

2. Prepositions

càak	"from"
dooy	"by means of"
dúay [^]	"with"
hây [^]	"to/for"
kàp	"with"
klây [^]	"near"
K ^ˇ ᵛᵛᵛ	"of"
maa	"to"
pay	"to"
P [^] ia	"for the purpose of"
sămràp ^ˇ	"for"
tronᵛ	"at"

Note: Question words, clause relators and subordinators which were discussed as groups have been omitted from this list. Please refer to the pertinent sections in the paper for them.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

adj	adjective
adjl	adjectival (word/word group functioning as adjective)
Ag:	agent slot
am	aspect marker
aux	auxiliary
adv	adverb
advl	adverbial (word/word group functioning as adverb)
Ax:	axis slot (in relator-axis clause)
C	command/command slot
Cl	clause
caus.tCl	causative transitive clause
desCl	descriptive clause
desv	descriptive verb
desV	descriptive verb phrase (word group with descriptive verb head)
di-tCl	di-transitive clause
di-tv	di-transitive verb
eqCl	equational clause
eqv	equational verb
eqV	equational verb phrase (word group with equational verb head)
H:	head slot (phrase level)
iCl	intransitive clause
impers.tCl	impersonal transitive clause
inan.	inanimate

Info. Q-Cl	information question clause
iv	intransitive verb
iV	intransitive verb phrase (word group with intransitive verb head)
L:	location slot
M:	manner slot
Mod:	modifier slot (phrase level)
n	noun
nom	nominal (word or word group functioning as a noun)
neg	negative
O:	object slot
P:	predicate slot
PA:	predicate attribute slot
pCl	passive clause
pm	passive marker
pn	pronoun (class of words used in place of nouns)
prep	preposition
Q	question/question slot
QM:	question marker slot
R:	relator slot (in relator-axis clause)
RA-Cl	relator-axis clause
Ra	relator-axis phrase
rel	relative
S:	subject/subject slot
S _a :	subject-as-actor slot
S _i :	subject-as-item slot

S _o :	subject-as-recipient-of-action slot
Sub	subordinate/subordinator slot
T:	temporal slot
tCl	transitive clause
tv	transitive verb
tv _u	transitive verb of unpleasantness
tV	transitive verb phrase (word group with transitive verb head)

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